

CRISIS AND FAILURE: WAR AND REVOLT IN THE AMBON ISLANDS, 1636–1637

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On January 14, 1637, *kimelaha* Leliato, the governor of the Ternatan dependencies in Central Maluku, returned to his headquarters in Lusiëla on Hoamoal from an expedition to Saparua with his *hong*i of 30 *kora-kora*. The reason for his sudden return was that he had just received a message from Buru informing him of the approach of a large Dutch fleet. That fleet was under the supreme command of Governor-General Anthonie van Diemen, the highest official in the hierarchy in Asia of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), the Dutch East India Company. The reason for Van Diemen's arrival in the islands was the crisis confronting VOC rule there. For many years, since the Dutch had taken over a portion of the islands from the Portuguese in 1605, there had been a state of war or, at best, of armed peace with the Ternatan dependencies in the same area. However, for the past few years the VOC had seen itself also confronted with growing opposition from the territories located between the Ternatan and Dutch realms. Finally, in 1636, rebellion broke out among the inhabitants of the VOC's own domain, who had hitherto mostly supported the Dutch cause with their *kora-kora* in the *hong*i (Knaap 1987a:17–22; Enkhuizen 399:2–3, 16).

One might say that the events of 1636–1637 were the severest crisis the Dutch had been confronted with until that time. It would be almost two hundred years before a crisis of such magnitude occurred again: the 1817 Pattimura uprising. So, there was every reason for the Dutch to send a large fleet and an important person possessing enough authority to deal with the situation. We will see how the crisis developed and how Van Diemen succeeded in his object of appeasing the Christians and, for the time being, the territories in between, thus isolating his Ternatan enemy, *kimelaha* Leliato. In the meantime, we will try to find out the factors that made the anti-Dutch front a failure. This reconstruction of the events and developments will make ample use of a recently

rediscovered manuscript giving a day-to-day account of Van Diemen's expedition.¹

The Dutch in Ambon's Political Landscape Prior to 1636

When the Dutch reached Maluku around 1600, they were warmly welcomed by the Ternatans, both in the center of the kingdom in North Maluku as well as in its outlying districts, such as Hoamoal and the islands to the west of it. The reason for this was the Ternatan–Portuguese rivalry, which had resulted in an almost permanent state of warfare from about 1570 onward. The Dutch, who presented themselves as arch-enemies of the Iberians—both Portuguese and Spanish—seemed quite natural allies for the Ternatans. The Ternatans wanted the well-equipped Dutch to attack the Portuguese. The Dutch were in principle prepared to do so, on the condition that they were given the right to buy up all cloves that were grown in the area. In 1605, the Dutch took over the Portuguese dependencies in the Ambon Islands and also destroyed their strongholds in North Maluku. One year later, however, in 1606, the Spanish took up arms for the Iberian cause and occupied a considerable part of the island of Ternate. As a consequence, the Sultan of Ternate, Mudafar, renewed the alliance with the Dutch in 1607, promising them an exclusive right to buy cloves. At the instigation of Mudafar, in 1609 a treaty between Hoamoal and the VOC was signed in which the sole right to buy cloves in that area was also conceded (Heeres 1907:51–53, 70–72; Knaap 1987a:17).

However, this idyllic situation did not last long. The Sultan, menaced by the Spaniards on his own doorstep, was usually loyal to the treaties concluded with the Dutch. In the periphery of the kingdom on the other hand, notably on Hoamoal, which gradually developed into the principal production center for cloves, circumstances went the other way. As time went by, an ever-widening gap grew between the Dutch on the one hand, demanding all cloves, and the indigenous producers demanding higher prices on the other. Several producers on Hoamoal secretly sold part of their harvest to Javanese and other traders, who were prepared to pay more and to offer better merchandise in return than the Dutch. The Dutch reacted by intercepting Javanese and other trading vessels on the excuse of trying to prevent the “smuggling” of cloves. This process of polarization threatened the position of the successive *kimelaha*, who were not from Hoamoal but members of the aristocratic family of

Tomagola from Ternate. They had to choose between their own loyalty to the Sultan and supporting the cause of their subjects on Hoamoal. Consequently, during the government of *kimelaha* Sabadin, 1611–1619, there were attempts by certain discontented sections of the population to get rid of Ternatan overlordship. Moreover, the *kimelaha* was threatened by the Dutch, who questioned Ternate's claims to a large part of the Ambon Islands in order to lend extra legitimation to their interceptions of foreign traders. Furthermore, the VOC obstructed the *kimelaha*'s islamization policies, in particular on mainland Seram (Tiele 1886:195, 226, 251, 256–257; Rumphius 1910:38).

During the government of *kimelaha* Hidayat, 1619–1623, local Ternatan authority in the Ambon Islands chose a clear anti-Dutch policy. However, there was not yet any actual fighting between the forces of the *kimelaha* and the Dutch. This changed after Leliato succeeded Hidayat as *kimelaha* in 1623. After over a year of small incidents, the Dutch launched a full-scale attack on the *kimelaha*'s positions in 1625. The local VOC garrison and the Christian Ambonese *hong*i were temporarily reinforced by ships from the so-called “Nassau” fleet. The *kimelaha*'s main stronghold, Gamasongi, was quickly overrun by the Dutch, who also destroyed tens of thousands of clove trees, a number of villages, and many sea-going vessels. However, Leliato and his party withdrew into the interior, waiting for better times (Tiele & Heeres 1890:48–70; Rumphius 1910:51–52). One year later, in 1626, Leliato and the Dutch concluded an armistice. At about the same time, Leliato started building a new headquarters in Lusiëla. In 1628, with the help of *kaicili* Ali from Ternate, peace was officially restored, on which occasion the VOC was again granted the right to buy up all cloves. Another member of the Tomagola family, named Luhu, was nominated as the new *kimelaha*, but Leliato refused to give up his position and remained on Hoamoal (Rumphius 1910:55, 58, 66, 72). In 1630, *kimelaha* Luhu and Leliato came to an agreement to rule Hoamoal and surrounding areas together. Consequently, the trade of foreigners that was undermining the Dutch monopoly received new impetus. The Dutch resumed their interception policy with the result that from the end of 1632, war between Hoamoal and the VOC was raging once again, with both sides attacking each other with their respective *hong*i (Rumphius 1910:76, 80, 92, 93, 95, 100, 102–103). With the exception of part of the village of Luhu, Hoamoal closed ranks completely behind Leliato. In 1635, the VOC launched a

full-scale attack on Lusiëla, but the attempt failed. The Dutch leaders of the expedition were said to have chosen a bad route in their assault on the place, where about 400 Makassarese fighters armed with firearms assisted Leliato. In that same year *kimelaha* Luhu withdrew temporarily to Ternate, leaving Leliato to deal with the dramatic developments to come (Tiele & Heeres 1890:280; Rumphius 1910:106, 115, 124, 140).

The Islamic territories between the domains of the VOC and the *kimelaha*—Hitu, Hatuhaha and Ihamahu—of which Hitu was the most important, were more or less independent states. According to the treaties concluded between them and the Dutch, on paper they could be considered as almost vassal or “satellite” states. They promised the Dutch a clove monopoly and the performance of compulsory services. Furthermore, they took an oath of obedience to the States General of the Dutch Republic, the Prince of Orange, and the VOC Governor of Ambon. In internal matters of an administrative, judicial, or religious nature, they were entirely free (Heeres 1907:31–33, 58, 59, 170–172). Although in theory subjects of the Dutch, these entities still acted fairly independently in practical matters concerning “foreign policy.”

Like the Ternatans, the Hituese had warmly welcomed the Dutch because of their anti-Portuguese sentiment. During the rule of *kapitan Hitu* Tepil, 1602–1633, Dutch–Hituese relations were fairly good, among other reasons because Tepil himself realized that European military power was a phenomenon that might prove fatal to every indigenous state that challenged it. He had experienced this himself in the year 1602, when the Hituese had suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of a Portuguese expeditionary force under the command of Andrea Furtado de Mendonça. The Dutch, for their part, saw Tepil as an influential person whose cooperation was indispensable for the stability of the region. Although there were situations that could easily have provoked open conflict between Hitu and the VOC, such as the price of cloves, free access of foreign Asian traders, and control over a number of villages in the western part of the island of Ambon, such as Larike, Wakasih, Tapi, Uring, and Asilulu, relations generally remained cordial (Tiele 1886:211–212, 223; Knaap 1987b:8, 18). Around 1630, however, Tepil’s policy was being questioned by many Hituese, in particular by those villages in the eastern part of the area, which gathered on Kapahaha around Samusamu, another member of Hitu’s elite (Rumphius 1910:69; Knaap 1987b:82–87).

Because of its strategic and economic importance, the Dutch kept a close watch on Hitu, using every occasion to gain more influence in the country’s internal affairs. These occasions occurred in particular whenever a member of the ruling elite passed away and a successor had to be nominated (Knaap 1987b:84–85). Such an opportunity presented itself on the death of Tepil in April 1633. According to Rumphius, the deceased had preferred his younger brother, Latu Lisalaik, as his successor, an opinion that seems in line with a certain passage in the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*. However, to avoid further concentration of power in the hands of one person, the Dutch managed to divide Tepil’s functions between the three major competitors for succession: Latu Lisalaik became village chief of Hila only, while another brother, Barus, became chief of the Nusatapi clan, which automatically made him one of the four *perdana* who traditionally ruled the country. Finally, Tepil’s oldest surviving son, Kakiali, became *kapitan Hitu*. The position of *kapitan Hitu* was the most prestigious and influential one in Hitu’s corporate leadership (Rumphius 1910:96; Manusama 1977:59, 60, 126, 128). Kakiali soon departed on an anti-Dutch plot, cooperating with the *kimelaha* and pinning his hopes on a coalition with the then fast-expanding power of the sultanate of Makassar. In order to stop these developments, in May 1634 Governor Anthonie van den Heuvel carried out the surprise arrest of twelve prominent leaders of Hitu, including Kakiali. Kakiali was accused of trying to join in an anti-Dutch coalition. Within a few days, all the arrested leaders, with the exception of Kakiali and Tamalesi, village chief of Wakal, were released. Kakiali and Tamalesi were kept in jail. In 1636 (not toward the end of 1635 as Rumphius erroneously states) they were transported to Batavia. In the meantime, because of resentment at the Dutch intervention, almost the entire land of Hitu had risen to stand against the Dutch (Rumphius 1910:104–105, 114–116, 124; VOC 1116:188v–189r).

Hatuhaha on the island of Haruku was the smallest of the territories in between. Like Hitu, at the beginning of the century Hatuhaha had already promised the VOC all the cloves it produced, as well as the performance of compulsory services in return for protection (Rumphius 1910:30; Heeres 1907:58, 59). Relations between Hatuhaha and the VOC were generally cordial, except for a short period from 1619–1621 when it had sided with the *kimelaha*. However, around 1630 relations deteriorated again. In 1632, Hatuhaha decided to retreat to its fortified

strongholds inland, refusing the VOC any further deliveries of cloves or men to row in the *hong*i (Tiele 1886:261; Rumphius 1910:46, 90).

At the beginning of the century, the third area, Ihamahu on Saparua, was not a clove-producing area. It was a conglomerate of craftsmen and seafarers gathered in a strategically located and fairly inaccessible mountain-fortress. In 1610, the first serious conflict with the Dutch occurred when Ihamahu raided Rutung, a Christian village on Leitimor which fell under the jurisdiction of the Dutch. Like Hatuhaha, Ihamahu was reconciled with the Dutch in 1621, on the occasion of a visit by Governor-General Jan Pietersz. Coen to Ambon. It even joined in a general oath of allegiance to the Dutch (Rumphius 1910:31, 47; Manusama 1983:97–100). However, after that Ihamahu systematically refused to row in the VOC's *hong*i, and around 1630 relations were strained again. Ihamahu became a place of refuge for that section of the population of the Dutch part of Saparua who had conflicts with their own village chiefs. In 1631 Ihamahu even took the offensive, killing several Christian inhabitants and destroying Itawaka. One year later, the Ambonese *hong*i under Dutch command blockaded Ihamahu and devastated the surrounding countryside. This forced Ihamahu to conclude a temporary armistice (Rumphius 1910:73, 82, 84–86, 90).

When the Dutch took over the fortress of Nossa Senhora de Anunciada in Kota Ambon on February 23, 1605, all Roman Catholic villages on the island of Ambon and in the Lease Islands—Haruku, Saparua, and Nusalaut—swore obedience to the Prince of Orange, the States General, and the VOC. Within a few years, relations with the new overlords were more or less “normalized”: the Roman Catholics became Protestants, just like the Dutch themselves, and in 1607 the first *hong*i under Dutch rule was sent out. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, cloves were not yet being produced on a large scale. In the Christian part of the Lease Islands, clove production only took off around 1630 (Knaap 1987a:85, 147, 231, 232; Knaap 1987b:4). Consequently, there were few difficulties between the VOC and the Christian Ambonese about the price of cloves. Nevertheless, other conflicts occurred. First, there was a conflict with the village of Hutumuri on Leitimor, which was, according to the Dutch, involved in acts of “piracy.” In 1618, the Dutch finally defeated and subjugated Hutumuri. Second, in 1616–1617 there was an armed conflict on Leitimor between the Dutch on the one hand, and Soya, Kilang, and

Ema and their dependent villages on the other. The reasons for the revolt were the excessive demands for compulsory labor and the fact that Soya, Kilang, and Ema were not given a seat in the newly constituted *Landraad*. The *Landraad* was the council of Ambonese village chiefs that functioned as a court of justice for the indigenous population as well as a board of advisers for the Dutch administrators on local political matters (Tiele 1886:196–199; Rumphius 1910:31, 34–35, 37).

Peace was restored in 1617 by reducing the level of compulsory labor and the installation of a *Landraad*, in which all prominent village chiefs of Leitimor and the southern, Christian, part of the Hitu peninsula were given a seat. In the Lease, it appeared to be the island of Nusalaut that felt most strongly attracted to the anti-Dutch camp, joining the side of Ihamahu, Hatuhaha, and the *kimelaha* during the years 1619–1621 (Tiele 1886:200, 226, 261, 311; Rumphius 1910:35–36, 46). In the 1620s, the relations between the Christian Ambonese and the Dutch proved fairly harmonious once again. However, around 1630 the Dutch were stepping up compulsory labor on the *hong*i. This was a result of the arrival of an increasing number of Makassarese trading vessels in search of cloves. The Dutch needed the *hong*i to intercept these vessels. Moreover, hostilities with the *kimelaha* and Ihamahu were gradually being resumed. Consequently, during the period 1630–1635, the Christian *hong*i had to sail two to three times a year instead of the traditional once. As time went by, the population became rather annoyed at this situation. Finally, in February 1636, the Dutch saw themselves confronted with widespread rebellion, both on the island of Ambon itself as well as in the Lease. Rumphius called this the beginning of the “Third Ambonese War,” that is, the war of the VOC against the entire archipelago of Amboina (Rumphius 1910:80–81, 89, 99, 125).

The Dutch Under Pressure

In July 1636, Arend Gardenijs, a high-ranking official of the VOC, made a reconstruction of what had happened before the rebellion broke out. A few village chiefs declared that the primary reason for discontent was the *hong*i, which had been sent out too often during the last few years. The population was not allowed enough time to give proper attention to its agricultural means of subsistence. On top of this, while serving on the *hong*i, many Ambonese, including village chiefs, fell victim to maltreatment by the supervising Dutch soldiers and officers on board. They were

obliged to row for excessively long spells. In addition, the Ambonese were called "dogs," "pigs," "devils," and so forth by these Dutchmen, who also frequently used physical violence. Those on board were beaten with rattan sticks, and had shoes thrown at them, while their food was often spoiled. The village chiefs of Waay and Baguale were temporarily put in chains because their *kora-kora* had stayed too far behind. During the last journey with the *hong*i, toward the end of 1635, several Ambonese leaders joined in a conspiracy to murder the principal Dutch offenders. However, this plan was not put into effect. Around the turn of the year a general process of mutual consultation about what should be done took place among Christian villages on Ambon and Lease, as well as with the Moslems of Larike, Wakasih, Tapi, and a few Hituese chiefs. The *kimelaha* sent his envoys to fan the flames, while the Governor, Jochum Roelofs. van Deutecom, a rather ill-mannered character, was unaware of what was going on. After a while, most subjects of the VOC decided to swear a traditional oath, a *matakau*, of mutual alliance against the Dutch (Knaap 1987b:142-144; Rumphius 1910:124, 125).

According to Gardenijs, even after taking this oath, the Christian Ambonese were still in search of extra motives for abandoning their loyalty to the Dutch. In the middle of January 1636, the Reverend Jacob Vertrecht, apparently for purely religious reasons, started to take a census among the Christian population on Leitimor. After objections from the village chiefs of Kilang and Ema, Governor van Deutecom ordered Vertrecht to stop this initiative. At the end of January, upon the arrival of the Company's ship Buyren, a rumor spread that this ship was laden with a great number of chains, ropes, and handcuffs meant for the arrest and deportation of most Ambonese to Batavia. People were afraid of sharing the same fate that had befallen the Bandanese of Lontor fifteen years earlier. Now, Vertrecht's census came to be looked upon as a preparation for large-scale deportation. On top of this, the rumor spread that the rulers of Mataram and Butung had attacked the VOC and that the Makassarese, in cooperation with the Butungese, the Iberians, English, and Danish, were planning to invade Central Maluku, which was considered an attack the Dutch would not be capable of withstanding. When the Governor invited the village chiefs to attend a celebration in the church on February 23 to commemorate the Dutch conquest, most of the villages in the vicinity of Victoria, the Dutch

castle in Kota Ambon, decided to evacuate themselves to the mountainous hinterland. Finally, at the beginning of April, the villages definitively refused to join the *hong*i yet again. All roads and paths in the interior were blockaded and guarded. Only Nusaniwe, Latuhalat, Hatiwe, Tawiri, and Mardika, with a few of their subordinate villages, remained loyal to the Dutch. Kilang, Ema, Urimesen, and after some hesitation, Soya and Halong, rebelled (Knaap 1987b:141-142, 144-146).

Elsewhere on the island of Ambon the situation was no different. The people of Baguale remained in their village, but those of Hutumuri, Waay, and Suli fled to the mountainside. However, the chiefs of the three latter villages stayed in contact with the Dutch, therein following the example of the chief of Halong. From May onward, Alang and Liliboo refused to acknowledge the authority of the VOC, joining the Moslems from Wakasih, Tapi, Uring, and Asilulu in their anti-Dutch efforts. Consequently, in the western corner of Ambon Island, Larike was the only village that remained loyal to the VOC. At the end of June and the beginning of July, most of the rebellious villages besieged Larike and the small VOC fortress there. During this siege, they collaborated with an expeditionary force from Hoamoal and adjacent islands under the command of Latukoli from Lesidi. Gardenijs states that this Latukoli was from Kambelo, but this is a mistake.² However, after a few weeks the siege was broken off (Knaap 1987b:145-147; VOC 1124:218v). From August on, Alang and Liliboo showed some inclination to reconcile themselves to the VOC. In August, Waay, Suli, and Baguale were said to have performed a special ceremony to ban from their villages the anti-Dutch *matakau*, to which they had previously sworn. In these villages, the process of reconciliation had set in as early as April (Colenbrander 1899b:231; VOC 1124:209v, 223v).

On Haruku, the Christian villages had already retired to their fortified strongholds inland at the end of February. Within a few months they, with the assistance of the *kimelaha*, besieged the VOC fortress near Oma, which was soon in a very precarious situation. Nonetheless, the fortress held out. On Saparua most of the Christian villages maintained contact with the Dutch, at least until the middle of the year. After that, loyalty to the Dutch was only preserved by Ulat, Tuhaha, Haria, and Porto. The most welcome reception of the *kimelaha* was by the Christians of Nusalaut, in particular by Amet and its subordinate villages. They provided the *kimelaha* with guides for the extermination

of the small Dutch garrison in Hatumeten in South Seram. Furthermore, the Christians of Nusalaut turned Moslem and demolished all churches and everything that reminded them of the hated Dutch. In August they even captured the Reverend Jan Pricerius, whose ship was accidentally stranded on Nusalaut. Deprived of all his possessions, the Reverend Pricerius was released by his captors on a beach on Saparua about one month later, despite the *kimelaha*'s demands to hand him over (Rumphius 1910:126, 127; Knaap 1987b:147, 148).

What was happening in Hitu at the time of these dramatic developments in the VOC's own territories? Kakiali and Tamalesi were still held captive. Kakiali's principal opponent, Kayoan, *perdana* Tanahitumesen and recently nominated as provisional *kapitan Hitu*, went to Batavia in the company of several other leaders to try to get Kakiali released. Kayoan did so because he realized that Kakiali's release was the only way of restoring unity and peace in the land of Hitu. However, when Kayoan returned to Ambon at the beginning of 1636, he appears to have been once more nominated as *kapitan Hitu*, this time by the Governor-General himself. Another surprising fact was the nomination of Latu Lisalaik, who already held the honorary title of *orangkaya Bulang*, to *perdana* Nusatapi, in the place of his brother Barus. Latu Lisalaik was not at all happy with his new appointment; he openly refused to accept it. In a conversation with the local authorities of the VOC at the end of April he declared that the Governor-General did not have any right to nominate members of the government in Hitu, just as he himself did not have the right to promote the Dutch Governor of Ambon to be a king. With the exception of the closest followers of Tanahitumesen and Latu Lisalaik, the population of Hitu remained in their inland strongholds and did not want to have anything to do with the Dutch. Toward the end of 1636, Latu Lisalaik headed a second delegation from Hitu to Batavia to secure the release of Kakiali (Colenbrander 1899a:232; Knaap 1987b:140, 141, 149–151).

The second part of the year saw the Dutch and their small number of allies continuing to defend themselves against the offensive actions of their adversaries. These actions usually took the form of headhunting. Frontal attacks were hardly ever launched. In Hitu and on Leitimor, things remained unchanged. Both Hitu and Leitimor were willing to be supplied with gunpowder and receive other support from the *kimelaha*, while at the same time trying to stay as independent as possible. The

chiefs of Leitimor visited Lusiëla, but apparently did not swear obedience to the *kimelaha*. Leliato seems to have been aware of this problem, because in a letter to the Christians he urged them to get rid of the Dutch, not to become subjects of somebody else, but to become "free persons, who were subject to nobody and acted according to their own wishes." Likewise, both the Leitimorese and a large number of the Hituese refused to deliver their cloves to Leliato. Instead, they kept them in store, in case they needed some "change" for whenever the Dutch might recover (VOC 1124:230v, 232v, 233v, 236v). Nevertheless, toward the end of the year, Leliato sent out his *hong*i and put new pressure on the pro-Dutch villages in Lease. He attacked Tuhaha and Ulat, but did not succeed in taking them. However, 1637 would bring other developments. In July 1636, Arend Gardenijs had already advised the High Government in Batavia that the best remedy would be the personal intervention of the highest-ranking official of the VOC, the Governor-General himself. Anthonie van Diemen took this advice. The beginning of 1637 saw his arrival in the Ambon Islands with a fleet of seventeen capital ships carrying about 2000 sailors and soldiers. Kakiali and Tamalesi were also on board (Rumphius 1910:127, 128, 131; Knaap 1987b:153, 154).

Van Diemen in Ambon

Van Diemen arrived in Central Maluku, more specifically Buru, on January 13 after a voyage of two weeks. It would be another five days before the fleet reached Tanjung Sial, the southernmost point of Hoamoal. By then, Van Diemen had already decided to make an immediate assault on Lusiëla. The soldiers who were to be deployed in the action against the *kimelaha*'s stronghold were once more instructed to follow the orders of their officers, not to leave the troop and to go ashore well armed and well dressed. Looting, burning, murdering, and raping were explicitly prohibited and would be punished by death, unless the officers gave permission to do so. In the evening of January 19, the fleet anchored off Lusiëla, which was actually a complex of several fortresses on different levels. A reconnaissance party was sent out to find a proper landing site, while Kayoan, the Dutch-nominated *kapitan Hitu*, and Abdul Rachman, a pro-Dutch leader from Luhu, the principal village on Hoamoal, revealed the paths around Lusiëla. In the meantime, the Dutch witnessed great activity in and around Lusiëla caused by people

trying to escape (Enkhuizen 399:2, 7, 8, 10–13, 16, 17).

The next day, January 20, after breakfast and a blessing by the Reverend, a force of 1525 men disembarked on a beach about half an hour's march from Lusiëla. The defenders, who were few in number, a few hundred at the most, responded briskly by firing their cannon and muskets, shooting arrows, and throwing spears and stones, but were not able to halt the advancing Dutch. After the Dutch had managed to climb the walls of the lowest fortress with bamboo ladders, all defenders gave up and fled inland. The Dutch removed the red and white banners and garrisoned the place with their own men. Within five hours mighty Lusiëla had fallen. Inside the fortress, the Dutch found the bodies of only two enemy dead as well as about 20 pieces of light artillery and 3000 lbs. of gunpowder. Furthermore, there is mention of two captives, one being a woman, and 125 boats, most of them small, captured on the beach. All but one of these vessels were destroyed to be used as firewood. The VOC had suffered 10 dead and 38 wounded, a few of whom later succumbed to their wounds (Enkhuizen 399:20–27). In the days after the victory, the Dutch were busy demolishing part of the fortress and destroying the surrounding area, in particular the clove plantations. On January 27, Van Diemen left Lusiëla, leaving there a garrison of 400 soldiers and five capital ships in the roadstead (Enkhuizen 399:29, 31–35, 41).

It took the fleet three days to reach Castle Victoria in Kota Ambon. After a reception by the highest-ranking Company officials and inspection of the garrison and the militias, Van Diemen settled himself in the castle. He found there several village chiefs from Leitimor and the southeastern part of Hitu peninsula. About a week before, Governor van Deutecom had ordered the rebellious Christian villages to come down from their strongholds and seek the pardon of the Governor-General. However, there had been no reaction. It would be February 6 before a message came from the rebellious Leitimorese. It was said that the leaders of Soya, Kilang, Ema, and Urimesen were gathered in Soya to deliberate about their coming down, but they needed time. On that same day, a messenger from the village of Hatiwe returned from Lilibooy and Alang. He had not been able to make any serious contact (Enkhuizen 399:33, 34, 42–47, 51–53).

It was in the same western corner of Hitu peninsula that the Company took its next initiative. As soon as Van Diemen had arrived in Victoria,

the *imam* of Larike requested vengeance for the burning down of his village and the killing of some of its inhabitants the previous October by people from Wakasihu, Tapi, Uring, Asilulu, and Alang. On February 6, Governor van Deutecom set sail for Larike with a force of 10 vessels and 700 men. Two days later, this force took the inland fortresses of Wakasihu and Tapi, which had been hurriedly evacuated by the defenders. On February 10, van Deutecom returned to the castle. However, further attempts to restore peace in this area failed. Alang in particular showed itself strongly opposed to sending its envoys and asking pardon from the VOC (Enkhuizen 399:48, 53, 54, 58, 60, 72, 92). Further to the northeast, the villages of Baguale, Suli, and Waay maintained their reconciliatory attitude toward the Dutch. On February 17 and 18, Van Diemen and other high-ranking officials, accompanied by their families, even paid a visit to Baguale (Enkhuizen 399:75, 76).

During February, most energy was devoted to the reconciliation of the rebellious villages on Leitimor. Van Diemen played the role of the powerful but generous overlord, who granted everybody pardon regardless of what serious offenses they may have committed against the Dutch and their allies. Several delegations passed up and down between the interior and Victoria. Luis Gomes, village chief of Mardika, acted as the most prominent mediator. Soya, Kilang, Ema, Urimesen, and Hutumuri replied that they were inclined to come down, but that they, according to Ambonese "custom," needed time to discuss the matter internally as well as with those other villages in Ambon and the Lease with which they claimed to have sworn a "strong" *matakau* of mutual alliance. On February 14, Van Diemen sent a letter to Soya and its allies in which he urgently demanded that the village chiefs come and meet him before the 21st. However, Soya and its allies once more tried to postpone the meeting. Furthermore, they requested that the village chiefs who had remained loyal to the Dutch meet them halfway up the road under a certain *beringin* tree in order to accompany them to the Governor-General. Van Diemen refused to postpone the date for the meeting, but allowed the reception at the *beringin* tree. However, because of heavy rains, the planned meeting at the tree failed to take place on the 21st. A second attempt on the 22nd also failed because of mutual distrust (Enkhuizen 399:57, 58, 68–71, 73, 74, 78, 79).

After a new ultimatum, the Leitimorese village chiefs finally came down to Van Diemen on February 25. After explaining why they had run

away to their mountain strongholds the year before, they asked pardon of the Governor-General. A general pardon was subsequently granted, on which occasion Van Diemen took the opportunity to say that all that had passed was "buried in the darkness of the sea." The village chiefs explicitly denied having sworn *matakau* with the *kimelaha* and having delivered their cloves to him. These matters being resolved, Van Diemen departed from Victoria on February 27 to set sail to Haruku. He was accompanied by ten VOC ships and three *kora-kora*. Within two weeks, five more *kora-kora* from Leitimor would follow. Because of difficult navigation in narrow waters, it was sunset on March 5 before Van Diemen anchored off Hatuhaha. On that date, a group of 170 Alifuru warriors from Sumit and Sahulau on Seram also arrived to assist the Dutch in their actions by making the conditions around Hatuhaha so unsafe that the defenders no longer dared to venture out of their strongholds (Enkhuizen 399:81–87, 90, 94, 95, 97, 100).

The Dutch quickly disembarked a force of over 1000 men. After climbing a difficult road uphill, the troops took the well-fortified but empty and undefended Kabau, the first of Hatuhaha's strongholds. A little further inland they struck at Kailolo, which was fiercely defended. Nonetheless, the Dutch managed to take it. After spending the night in Kabau, the soldiers resumed their expedition inland on March 6. And so they reached the perfectly situated and extremely well-fortified Alaka, which was defended by about 1000 men. After the first actions against Alaka, the Dutch commanding officers came to the conclusion that it would be impossible to take this mighty stronghold without considerable loss of men. Consequently, they decided to retire to Kabau. Moreover, the rain was pouring down, making operations especially difficult. That day, the Dutch lost 14 men, in addition to about 50 wounded. Now the Dutch decided to destroy all clove and fruit trees in the neighborhood and to have the Alifuru, whose number had grown to over 200 persons, employ their guerrilla tactics. Within one week, the number of Alifuru had further increased to over 400. On March 15, the Dutch destroyed their encampment in Kabau and embarked on the fleet again. Three days later the Alifuru, after killing 16 enemies in all, were given permission to return to Seram (Enkhuizen 399:100–108, 116, 118, 120, 122).

While the fleet was still anchored between Ambon and Haruku, Van Diemen launched a diplomatic offensive to reconcile the villages on Haruku. During February, the five Christian villages had been in contact

with the rebellious villages on Leitimor about whether or not they should make peace with the Dutch. After the fleet had anchored off Hatuhaha, the Christians had sent several envoys to the small Dutch fortress near Oma to make known their inclination to make peace and seek pardon. They requested that Manuel Quelju, village chief of Kilang, should act as an intermediary. Accompanied by several other Leitimorese village chiefs, Manuel Quelju started conciliatory negotiations on March 21. Four days later, the Christian chiefs of Haruku visited Van Diemen on board his flagship. They were granted pardon. On that occasion, they presented Van Diemen with their services to appease Hatuhaha as well. On the 27th, Hatuhaha passed on a message by way of Laurens Ririasa, chief of Aboro, that it wanted to make peace because Hatuhaha believed that, in the end, it would not be able to withstand the Dutch. Next day a delegation from Hatuhaha was granted an audience and pardon. It told Van Diemen that the defenders of Alaka had almost given up the fight when the Dutch attacked the place on March 6. However, the rain had saved the day (Enkhuizen 399:87, 114, 115, 127, 134, 135, 137–140).

On March 29, Van Diemen's fleet departed from Haruku and set sail for Saparua. On April 4, Van Diemen arrived at the VOC's fortress in Sirisori. While still on board with the fleet, he had already started to take a closer look at the relations on Saparua and Nusalaut (Enkhuizen 399:141, 147). In December 1636, *kimelaha* Leliato had attacked Tuhaha on Saparua with his *hong*i. However, the chief of Tuhaha, Pieter or Pedro Mahubesi, had put the corpses of a pig and a dog into the small river that the *kimelaha*'s *hong*i was using for drinking water. Confronted with such shrewd resistance, the *kimelaha* had sailed away. When Van Diemen was still at Victoria, the other Christian village chiefs from Saparua had visited him there in order to swear allegiance again. As far as the Christians on Saparua were concerned, Van Diemen's only task was to give presents and compliments to the chief of Tuhaha and to witness the return to Christianity of the most prominent dissident of Tuhaha, a certain Labo or Lobo (Enkhuizen 399:47, 55, 59, 152, 164).

While Van Diemen was on his way to Haruku, the people of Ihamahu had inquired about his purpose in coming to Ambon. As the result of warlike actions from Ulat, Ihamahu had just lost one of its principal leaders, the chief of Nolot. Seeing the great power of the Dutch, Ihamahu soon expressed its readiness to make peace. When Van Diemen sailed from Haruku to Saparua, warriors from Paperu ambushed and

killed several other members of the leadership of Ihamahu who were returning home from a voyage to Hatuhaha. Later on, those from Ihamahu would claim that the purpose of this mission had been to make peace with Van Diemen in Hatuhaha. However, the delegation, noting that Van Diemen just departed for Saparua, decided to go home. In the vicinity of Hulaliu, they were tragically attacked by Paperu's warriors. Once on Saparua, Van Diemen sent an ultimatum to Ihamahu stating that they should make peace within five or six days. On April 7, accompanied by Herman, chief of Sirisori, a delegation from Ihamahu visited the Governor-General to restore peace with the VOC. Both parties decided that the official reconciliation should take place at the *landdag*, the general meeting for the entire land of Ambon, which was being planned at Castle Victoria for the following month (Enkhuizen 399:117, 118, 136, 146, 147, 149–151).

During the crisis, Nusalaut had been very anti-Dutch, especially those villages belonging to the *uli* (a federation of villages) of Inalohu headed by the village of Amet. From the beginning, there had been considerable contact between Nusalaut and the rebellious villages on Leitimor. On April 1, villagers from Nusalaut's other *uli*, Inahaha, headed by the chief of Titaway, came on board Van Diemen's ship to ask pardon, which was granted to them after many a reprimand about their disloyalty to the Dutch and the Protestant religion. Three days later, a delegation from Inalohu headed by the chief of Amet met Van Diemen on the beach of Sirisori, fell at his feet, and asked for a general pardon, which was subsequently granted (Enkhuizen 399:87, 117, 129, 144, 145, 147, 148).

On April 11, Van Diemen departed from Saparua and, taking the channel between Saparua and Nusalaut, sailed to Lusiëla on Hoamoal, where he arrived on the 13th. In Lusiëla, a special envoy from Sultan Hamza of Ternate, *kaicili* Sibori, who promised assistance in reconciling the affairs in the realm of Ternate, had recently arrived. On the 17th, the Dutch started to demolish the remnants of the *kimelaha*'s fortress. This took three days. On April 24, the fleet, including Lusiëla's garrison, set sail for Hitu (Enkhuizen 399:164, 165, 167, 171, 178, 182). In the meantime *kaicili* Sibori tried to induce *kimelaha* Leliato, who was in Kambelo on the other side of Hoamoal peninsula, to come to Luhu and receive an official letter from his overlord, Sultan Hamza. However, Leliato was afraid of being trapped by Sibori, who had appeared in Luhu accompanied by a few Dutch ships. Consequently, he requested that the

letter be handed over in Gamasongi, a little way inland from Luhu. Although Sibori considered this a token of disrespect to the Sultan, he decided to agree to Leliato's request. However, before Sibori arrived in Gamasongi, Leliato quickly evacuated the place to retire to Kambelo. The only result of Sibori's attempts was that the subordinate villages of Luhu reaffirmed their obedience to the Sultan of Ternate by means of a solemn *matakau* (Enkhuizen 399:171, 172, 181–185).

On April 25, Van Diemen arrived in Hila on Hitu. In Hitu, the VOC's opponents had fortified themselves in two places, Wawani and Kapahaha. The most anti-Dutch were those of Wawani, which consisted of the *uli* of Nau-Binau, Leala, and Hatunuku, and parts of Sawani. In Kapahaha were concentrated those of *uli* Saylesi, who were more favorable toward reconciliation with the Dutch than those of Wawani. From the beginning of the crisis, Wawani had demanded the release of Kakiali and Tamalesi as a precondition for any further negotiations. Finally, the Dutch decided to use this bait. Consequently, Kakiali, who had returned with Van Diemen and had once more offered his cooperation to appease Hitu, was transported with Tamalesi from Victoria to Hila one day before Van Diemen arrived there (Enkhuizen 399:65, 67, 82, 176, 180, 183, 184). Through Latu Lisalaik, the leaders of Wawani sent word that they were prepared to meet with Van Diemen. Kakiali and Tamalesi were released on April 26. They departed immediately to Wawani, where all village chiefs gathered to prepare the delegation to the Governor-General. Tamalesi also assisted in involving Kapahaha in the peace process. Finally, on May 3, the delegation from Wawani headed by Barus, acting *perdana* Nusatapi, presented itself to Van Diemen in Hila. On that occasion it was decided that the Hituese would also participate in the *landdag* at Castle Victoria that was scheduled for that very month. The next day, Van Diemen departed from Hila, taking with him Kakiali, whose formal release must wait for the *landdag* (Enkhuizen 399:186–189, 194–199).

After a short visit to Larike, the Governor-General arrived at Castle Victoria on May 5. On the 16th, Van Diemen opened the *landdag*, for which occasion most of the village chiefs of Ambon and Lease had gathered in Kota Ambon at the castle (Enkhuizen 399:199, 200, 205). On the first day,³ all matters concerning the Christians of the island of Ambon were settled, with the exception of those of Alang, who were still opposed to reconciliation, whereas Lilibooy had made peace with the

VOC in the middle of April (Enkhuizen 399:170, 199; Karlsruhe 480:170r-v). At the second session of the *landdag*, which took place on the 18th, all matters concerning the Lease Islands and the coast of South Seram opposite them were put on the agenda. On this occasion, the inhabitants were promised that the services on the *hong*i would be limited to a maximum period of five weeks a year. If it was necessary to row longer, they would be paid for it. On that same day *kaicili* Sibori arrived from Hoamoal. He was confronted with the question of whether the Islamic villages of Ihamahu, Hatuhaha, and Latu and Hualoy on Seram were subject to the clove monopoly and compulsory labor for the VOC. This question was raised by Van Diemen because the villages concerned had expressed their ignorance about whom they were subject to: the Sultan or the VOC. Avoiding a clear-cut answer about formal sovereignty, Sibori responded that it was the wish of the Sultan of Ternate for the villages to be obedient to the Governor of Ambon and not to heed the *kimelaha* (Karlsruhe 480:170v-174v; Enkhuizen 399:209, 210).

At the third session on May 19, the Christians of the island of Ambon presented themselves once more before the Governor-General, handing over a petition in which they asked, among other things, for payment for purchasing their *kora-kora*, a decrease in compulsory labor, and better treatment on the *hong*i, in addition to guarantees of their land and fishing rights in the vicinity of Kota Ambon. Van Diemen bluntly refused any compensation for the purchase of the *kora-kora*, but limited the time of the *hong*i to a maximum of five weeks, just as he had done in the case of the Lease. He promised instructions forbidding maltreatment on the *hong*i and advised the village chiefs to voice their complaints if this ever happened again. Finally, Van Diemen promised to draw up more regulations concerning fishing and land rights. Besides responding to this petition, Van Diemen ordered the closing down of all Christian village schools. All Leitimorese who wanted religious education for their children had to send them to the school in Kota Ambon. A similar measure had also been taken in the Lease Islands. The village chiefs showed themselves by no means pleased with Van Diemen's new religious policy. Three days later, on the 22nd, all the chiefs of Ambon and Lease, with the exception of those of Hitu, who were not yet present, swore a solemn oath of allegiance to the Dutch Republic and the VOC. The oath of the Christians was taken on the Bible, while the Moslems

took theirs on the Koran (Rumphius 1910:175r-178r).

In the meantime, there had been no progress in the relations between Hitu and the Dutch. The principal leaders showed no inclination to visit the Governor-General in Victoria. Therefore, on May 20, Van Diemen decided to grant Kakiali his full freedom. Kakiali was given a warm reception by his followers on his definite return to Wawani, and the leaders there made a final resolution to attend the *landdag* (Rumphius 1910:149; Enkhuizen 399:210, 212, 213). On May 31, Kakiali attended the *landdag*, heading a delegation of 100 persons, not only from Hitu itself but also from Uring, Asilulu, Wakasihi, Tapi, Alang, and Lilibooy. Both parties quickly agreed to restore peace and renew old treaties. The Dutch were promised a monopoly in cloves, which meant that Hitu had to refrain from admitting foreign traders to its shores. In return Van Diemen allowed Hitu to restore its traditional government. Kakiali became *kapitan Hitu* once more. Kayoan, *perdana* Tanahitumesen, lost the position of *kapitan Hitu* and was given the honorary title *orangkaya tua* instead. Barus was officially restored as *perdana* Nusatapi in place of the old and ailing Latu Lisalaik, who had never wanted this position anyway. Soulisha was *perdana* Totohatu and Beraim-ela *perdana* Patih Tuban. The Hituese moreover declared that they were friends and not subjects of the Sultan of Ternate and that they did not have any claims to the villages of Uring, Asilulu, Larike, Wakasihi, Tapi, Alang, and Lilibooy. On June 1, both the Hituese and their allies from the latter villages swore an oath of allegiance to the Dutch. Finally, the new VOC Governor, Johan Ottens, took an oath that he would protect and recognize the Hituese as true friends and allies of the Dutch Republic (Karlsruhe 480:179v-186r; Enkhuizen 399:216).

After Van Diemen had left Hoamoal on April 24, *kaicili* Sibori tried to work out some sort of an arrangement with *kimelaha* Leliato. About one week later, Sibori reported to Van Diemen that he had been able to hand over the letter of the Sultan to Leliato and his principal followers, who had come to Luhu for that purpose on April 29. During the first part of May, Sibori tried in vain to persuade Leliato to attend the *landdag* at Victoria. Sibori was also unsuccessful in his attempts to ban foreign traders from the Ternatan dependencies. Therefore, Sibori believed that the only remedy to redress the situation would be military action. The *kimelaha* showed himself less inclined to give in again because he was now assisted by hundreds of armed foreigners, who had been arriving in

trading vessels during the last few months. The only thing that Sibori was able to do for the time being was to have the leaders of Luhu and a number of its subordinate villages swear an oath of allegiance to the Dutch on June 2. On the same day, at the ninth session, the *landdag* was officially closed, and presents were distributed to those who had most assisted Van Diemen in setting matters straight again. The biggest reward was for Luis Gomes, chief of Mardika, the champion of cooperation with the Dutch. On June 4, Van Diemen departed from Victoria, setting sail for Batavia (Enkhuizen 399:190–193, 207–209, 218; Karlsruhe 480:186v–189v).

Epilogue and Conclusions

Van Diemen was fully aware of the fact that the process of making peace had only progressed halfway. Therefore, he decided to return to Ambon the next year, when he hoped to meet Sultan Hamza of Ternate. He was of the opinion that the problems in the Ternatan dependencies could only be settled through the personal intervention of the Sultan, because the *kimelaha* and his followers had not shown themselves inclined to listen to the envoys of the Sultan. Consequently, Van Diemen invited the Sultan to come to the Ambon Islands the next year. The meeting between Governor-General and Sultan took place according to plan, and the Ternatan dependencies were appeased for the time being. However, within five years large-scale warfare had broken out again, in particular with Hitu, where Kakiali tried to get rid of the Dutch with the help of Makassar. Luhu, who had finally replaced Leliato as *kimelaha*, tried to follow him in this respect, but was soon at a loss because of the lack of support from his subjects. In spite of Makassarese assistance, Kakiali's Hitu lost both the war and its independence. Concerning the other two territories between the realms of Ternate and the Dutch, it can be said that Hatuhaha ceased to act independently after Van Diemen's expedition described above. Ihamahu kept quiet until the 1650s, when it cooperated with *kimelaha* Luhu's successor, Majira, who espoused the same policy that Kakiali had espoused. In 1651, Majira joined a rebellion against Sultan Mandarsyah in Ternate that was inspired by anti-Dutch sentiment. However, Majira and his allies from Makassar were beaten. Consequently, all Ternatan dependencies in the Ambon Islands were firmly incorporated into Dutch territory by 1656. Ihamahu's independent role had already ceased to exist, when the village fled from

its stronghold on Saparua to South Seram in 1653 (Rumphius 1910:150; Knaap 1987a:22, 23, 301).

What factors caused Van Diemen to be successful and his enemies to be confronted with a failure? In a publication a few years ago, I mentioned four principal tools of Dutch control during the period following 1656, the period during which the Ambon Islands were firmly incorporated into the VOC state: (a) securing military predominance; (b) locating the population in sites that were easily controlled; (c) exploiting the divisions within the indigenous society; (d) building a certain degree of consensus with at least some part of the subject population (Knaap 1987a:29–33). During the crisis of the mid-1630s, all these factors were either present or at least emerging.

As far as the military situation was concerned, it is clear that the VOC's local garrison, about 500 strong, was unable to cope with a serious crisis if the *hongis* were not available for action. In such cases, extra forces had to be mobilized from Batavia to save the day. This was what happened in Van Diemen's case. Through a combination of actual fighting and the threatened use of force, a substantial portion of the resistance was neutralized. The fact that the Dutch possessed a standing army and navy meant they had a clear advantage over the *kimelaha*. Leliato's defense system consisted of two elements. First, he mobilized the population of the Ternatan dependencies to man the *hongis* or to build and defend his fortresses. Second, he received help from foreign Asian traders. However, both elements had their shortcomings. The population of his dependencies could not be mobilized for a longer period. At best, they functioned as a militia for a few months. The foreign traders were not a permanent force either; after a few months they sailed away to their homeland. Besides having a standing army and navy, the VOC was also better equipped. Its capital ships were an almost insurmountable hurdle for *kora-kora*. Furthermore, the Dutch possessed more small arms and more artillery.

In 1637, the policy of locating the population in places that were easily accessible for control had not yet fully materialized. As we have seen, this was one of Van Diemen's obvious aims in Leitimor, Hitu, and Haruku. It was finally achieved during the wars of the 1640s and 1650s. The third factor, divide and rule, was also clearly visible, although the situation was not yet as advanced as during the second half of the century, when almost every autonomous extravillage organization was

abolished. In 1637, the Dutch still tolerated the principle of central rule for Hitu and had not yet questioned the principle of some sort of Ternatan overlordship in Hoamoal and the islands to the west of it. On the other hand, already existing divisions in Hitu and the dependencies of Ternate were eagerly exploited to weaken the anti-Dutch front. The fourth and final element, building a consensus with part of the population, was a factor that had obviously broken down during the first half of the 1630s. Religion, in particular Protestantism, had not proved to be the cement that had linked ruler and ruled together in Leitimor and the Lease. Ambonese Protestantism was still recent and only nominally adhered to. Harsh treatment, as well as excessively burdensome compulsory labor, had laid too many strains on this kind of solidarity between ruler and ruled.

Finally, the topic of unity or disunity among the Ambonese, including their Ternatan overlords, must be reviewed. First, it should be said that Ternatan rule was relatively recent and consequently less firmly rooted than one might have expected. The fact that the *kimelaha*'s own military potential was relatively weak made legitimation and consensus important elements in his political survival. It is clear that Leliato had a problem with legitimation because the Sultan of Ternate did not give him his support. As far as consensus is concerned, one might say that he was supported by the population of Hoamoal and the islands to the west of it, because he had espoused the same cause in his opposition to Dutch aspirations concerning a clove monopoly, interference in the free movement of trade and shipping, and, to a certain extent, Dutch discrimination against Islam. These factors made his power base fragile. Consequently, at certain moments in time, a considerable number of subjects temporarily chose the other side. If it was not Luhu, then it was Kambelo; if it was not Kambelo, then it was Manipa, in a continuous process. Indigenous Ambonese state formation was not very old either. Therefore, internal stability was not always guaranteed. On the level of *uli* (village federations), instability was less visible, but larger entities, such as Hitu and Luhu (federations of *uli*) showed considerable disunity. In Luhu's case, this even led to its loss of independence to Ternate. In Hitu's case, the crisis of the mid-1630s showed three rival factions: (a) the more-or-less pro-Dutch groups, (b) the extremely anti-Dutch majority on Wawani, and (c) the relatively moderate party on Kapahaha (Knaap 1987a:10, 11, 20, 21).

From a structural point of view, the preconditions for Ambonese unity were not ideal. On the other hand, one could imagine that discontent with the Dutch might have worked as a catalyst to stimulate unity. We have seen, however, that the anti-Dutch front of the mid-1630s proved a failure. One of the main reasons was of course the *kimelaha*'s inability to mobilize a military force as impressive as that of Van Diemen's, which might have given adequate protection to his new allies. To be "allies" and not "subjects" of the *kimelaha* was the aim of the discontented. Consequently, in reality the anti-Dutch front was only a loose conglomerate of self-interested parties. Heavily divided Hitu kept contact with the *kimelaha* and was willing to receive supplies of arms, but hardly ever joined in his military campaigns. The Hituese were not seen either defending Lusiëla or on expedition in the Lease with Leliato. There was military cooperation between the faction of Wawani and the rebels in the western part of the island of Ambon, such as Wakasihi, Alang, and so forth, but this was an exception. The conclusion is that a large part of Hitu was not really interested in close cooperation with other parties. A similar reluctance to join hands with Leliato could be noticed in Ihamahu, Hatuhaha, and the Christian rebels on Saparua. They joined the action only after Leliato had taken the offensive against nearby places such as Tuhaha and the VOC fortress on Haruku (Rumphius 1910:127; Enkhuizen 399:53, 99, 150).

All the cases of linkage between *kimelaha* Leliato and the anti-Dutch groups of Ambon and Lease concerned alliance and not subjugation. Relatively "warm" alliances were those between the rebels of Haruku and Nusalaut and those of the western corner of the island of Ambon. The Christians of Leitimor and Saparua proved less close cooperators. Among the rebels themselves, there were "warm" and less "warm" alliances. Those of Saparua and of the western part of the island of Ambon were relatively isolated from the rest. Only between those of Leitimor and Haruku, and those of Leitimor and Nusalaut, does there seem to have been a stronger bond, with the leaders of Haruku and Nusalaut carefully watching what such people as the chiefs of Kilang and Soya were doing (Enkhuizen 399:87, 117, 129, 145, 159, 160).

The anti-Dutch front was an occasional coalition of political entities, which were not inclined to give away to each other the little room for maneuvering that they possessed. There was only a "negative" motivation to unify, namely, being anti-Dutch. Positive motivations,

such as a common identity (being Ambonese), or a common ideology (Islam), were nonexistent or not strong enough to form a lasting union. Ambonese "ethnogenesis," a concept used by Bartels to mean a process in which the societies of the islands were gradually tied together, among other things by bonds of *pela* (intervillage alliances aimed at mutual help during crisis situations), was apparently not important in this period (Bartels 1977:131, 132). Elements of belonging to the *ulilima* or the *ulisiwa* social classifications did not play a substantial role in choosing sides either (van Fraassen 1987, vol. 2:462–470). A long tradition of inter-Ambonese warfare, inspired or not inspired by Portuguese/Dutch and Ternatan rivalry and intervention, had created too much mutual distrust. So when Van Diemen arrived, the anti-Dutch front fell apart piece by piece. Usually, the decision to reverse loyalty was taken after thorough internal consultation and discussion. One did not want to bet on the wrong horse again.

NOTES

1. I wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. J. Steendijk-Kuypers in Utrecht, who rediscovered the manuscript of Governor-General Anthonie van Diemen's "Journael" of the expedition to Amboina in 1637. The "Journael" was kept in the Regional Archives of West-Friesland in Hoorn (Oud Archief Enkhuizen 399), instead of being transferred to the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA), the General State Archives, in The Hague as happened with the rest of the records of the Enkhuizen branch of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), the Dutch East India Company. Until Mrs. Steendijk's rediscovery, it was believed that the copy of the manuscript in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, Germany, was the only surviving one and that there was no copy available in the Netherlands (Colenbrander 1899b:iv). Mrs. Steendijk was kind enough to offer me her transcription of the Hoorn manuscript. It is one of the main sources for the history of Ambonese-Dutch relations in 1636–1637. The manuscript is referred to as "Enkhuizen 399." In the manuscript itself, there is no pagination. When Mrs. Steendijk made the transcription, she made a pagination for herself that runs exactly parallel to the original. I have used this pagination when referring to specific sections of the text.
2. For the developments of 1636, I also used a source from the VOC archive in the ARA, notably the "Dagregister" of Jochum Roelofs. van Deutecom,

which records events from December 4, 1634, until January 31, 1637 (VOC 1124:100r–240v).

3. An extensive report of the sessions of the *landdag* can be found in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe in the collection *Karlsruher Handschriften* 480:169r–189v, which will be referred to as "Karlsruhe 480." A microfilm of this manuscript is kept in the ARA in The Hague.

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ASPECTS OF MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH STATUS IN MALUKU

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Introduction

Maluku Province (or the Moluccas) located in eastern Indonesia, is a vast archipelagic area comprised of more than a thousand islands straddling the Equator. With a population of about 1,850,000 people spread over an area the size of the States of Washington, Oregon, and California combined, but with only 10% as land mass, it is easy to appreciate some of the difficulties experienced by these people. Transportation and communication is a challenge second only to the task of providing adequate health and social services to the populace.¹

This report provides the results and analysis of a health and immunization coverage survey conducted by Project Concern International/Indonesia in the Province of Maluku, Indonesia, in November 1991.² The survey was conducted to derive baseline data in order to evaluate the maternal and child health situation for development planning and to determine targets for project objectives.

Methods

The Province of Maluku comprises 56 *kecamatan* (subdistricts) with a total population of 1,852,700. Due to the remoteness of a large proportion of the population, the province was arbitrarily divided into two separate stages for the implementation of activities. Area I, covering 32 *kecamatan* is considered easy to access; whereas Area II, with the remaining 24 *kecamatan* and about 28% of the population, is generally more remote and geographically more difficult to access.